

HOMAGE
TO
GEN. FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER
ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOT AND HERO OF COLOMBIA
IN
THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1923



THE LEGATION OF COLOMBIA
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FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER.

This bust, the gift of the Colombian Government to the Pan American Union, was unveiled in the Hall of Heroes, January 4, 1923.

COLOMBIA PRESENTS BUST OF SANTANDER TO PAN AMERICAN UNION

PREFATORY NOTE.

On the evening of Thursday, January 4, the Hall of Heroes of the Pan American Union was the scene of an inspiring ceremony at which the Minister of Colombia, speaking on behalf of his country, presented to the Pan American Union the bust of Gen. Francisco de Paula Santander. The address of presentation of the Minister, together with the remarks of the Secretary of State in accepting the bust, and an appreciation by the Director General, Dr. L. S. Rowe, are herewith printed.

The presentation of the bust was followed by a reception, which was one of the most brilliant in the long series of receptions held at the Pan American Union. The program of ceremonies incident to the unveiling of the bust was as follows:

1. Colombian National Anthem and other popular airs by the orchestra.
2. Presentation of the bust of General Santander to the Pan American Union by the Minister of Colombia, His Excellency Sr. Dr. Enrique Olaya.
3. Unveiling of the bust by Señorita Lucía and Señorita María Olaya, assisted by Madame Olaya.
4. Placing of wreath at the bust of General Santander by his granddaughter, Mrs. Fred Page Tibbits.
5. Acceptance of bust on behalf of the governing board of the Pan American Union by the Secretary of State of the United States, the Hon. Charles E. Hughes.
6. National Anthem of the United States.

ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, SR. DR. ENRIQUE OLAYA,
THE MINISTER OF COLOMBIA.

MR. SECRETARY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In the name of the Republic of Colombia, I have the honor to present the bust of Gen. Francisco de Paula Santander, destined to occupy a place in the Hall of Heroes of the American Continent. The busts of the heroes in this hall symbolize the gratitude of the nations to whom they belong and to whose greatness and liberty they consecrated their lives. A group of Colombian citizens, desiring to render tribute to the glorious founders of the Republic as well as to those who rendered outstanding service to the Americas, offered to my Government the bust of Santander. A sculptor of the Spanish mother country has graven in marble the features of the hero of the Colombian struggle for independence, to whom we bring on this occasion the homage which every people renders to its great patriots. This occasion, therefore, has a twofold significance: It is the tribute of the compatriots of Santander interpreted by an artist of their own race. It is a happy coincidence that the bust of the Colombian statesman, Francisco de Paula Santander, the very incarnation of respect for justice and loyalty to the law, should be received by you, Mr. Secretary, whose great decisions as Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States represent the application of the spirit of justice through laws representing the national will.

Santander belonged to that privileged generation which entered into the political life of Spanish America at the beginning of the nineteenth century and whose constant and unswerving purpose was to struggle in defense of the highest principles and ideals. For Santander this struggle began during his student days, and from the very first hour of the struggle his efforts were devoted to the service of those ideals of liberty which represented his highest aspirations. He was educated in the College of San Bartolomé, within whose walls many of the intellectual leaders of the great emancipation movement were trained. The masses of the people moved with unerring instinct toward the great purpose of national independence which they had in view, and in order to secure this independence they placed in positions of authority heroic leaders who have inscribed admirable pages in the history of the nation, deeds which even to-day arouse the admiration and applause of the historians of that great epoch.

We find in this struggle one outstanding feature which is peculiarly characteristic of the statesman in whose honor we are to-day assem-

bled. It was the contribution which the younger men, just emerging from university life, made to the glorious movement for independence. They defended by word and pen the rights of the masses of the people and offered their lives as a supreme sacrifice in the furtherance of this great cause. They sowed the seed of that great and new ideal which finally emerged victorious on the battle fields of independence, and they constantly gave evidence of those virile virtues which showed them to be worthy sons of the race to which they belonged.

When the moment of action arrived, when they were called upon to advance to the battle field in defense of their ideals, they did not hesitate a moment to answer the call of duty. Santander was constantly in the vanguard, never granting to himself a moment of rest. He fought at the side of those indefatigable soldiers during two decades of unrelenting struggle. During the long nights on the battle field he stood at the front beside the indomitable warriors of the Colombian plains. He took an active part in those epic cavalry charges which commanded the admiration of the enemy, and it must be remembered that it was an enemy whose leaders had won renown in the great struggles of the Napoleonic wars. He felt the deep emotion that comes to the warrior when he finds himself placed in a position of danger while struggling for the cause which commands the loyalty of his spirit and the warm approval of his heart. With imperturbable calm he faced reverses and with equal serenity he envisaged the moments of triumph. With Bolívar—the great genius of South American emancipation—he prepared the war plans which culminated in the great Battle of Boyacá, the first chapter in a series of victories by the republican armies and the initial page in that series of events which transformed the destinies of the New World. Santander, to synthesize his eulogy in a single phrase, deserves as a warrior the great bronze statue raised to his memory by the National Legislature of his country, as well as the marble bust which here, in this Pan American celebration, we are about to unveil as a new consecration of his glory.

Great as is this aspect of his noble service, it is not the only one to be considered in presenting his example to the admiration of posterity. His military successes opened a splendid horizon to the armed struggle for independence. Bolívar made use of his service while gathering laurels in his triumphal campaign over the territory of five Republics. The work of organizing civil government, however, was placed in the hands of Santander. Although his services in forming victorious legions, in disciplining soldiers, in raising funds, and in organizing those splendid regiments which continued their victorious march to Ayacucho and Junín were admirable, as is demonstrated by the most casual reading of those historical documents which describe this splendid epoch of his life, there were in

addition to his efforts in this gigantic enterprise others hardly less important that had to be performed. The nations that suddenly found themselves intrusted with the great responsibility of self-government had to be prepared to assume the heavy obligations which this privilege implies. A financial system had to be organized, a foreign policy developed, the bases laid for popular education and material progress, and the administration of justice built upon republican principles. These and much more were the tasks confronting the newly born nation. On all of these Santander left the impress of his thought and vigorous action. He was then but 25 years of age but, as if in confirmation of the principle that each historic epoch produces men capable of meeting new conditions and circumstances, Santander showed himself from the beginning fully equipped to be the constructive leader of his people. From the earliest period he displayed the qualities of a great administrator and accomplished statesman. He was a great administrator because he knew how to direct national ideals along the paths of concrete realization; a great administrator because he knew how to combine the concept of civil liberty with that of discipline and order, which are the two concepts essential to the life of a democracy. Prince Peter Bonaparte, who fought with him and who knew him in moments of triumph as well as in periods of adversity, said: "I have met many governmental heads and monarchs, but I have known none to whom nature has given the qualities of leadership to quite the same degree as to General Santander."

He served the people without attempting to flatter them. He was a disinterested servant of democracy, but his temperament and his character were such as to preserve him at all times from any inclination toward demagoguery. His intellectual make-up was such that in time of peace as well as in time of war, he showed the same austere integrity. His messages are state papers, animated by that enthusiasm which is an expression of deep and sincere conviction, but also dominated by the clear reasoning and analysis upon which he based his action as well as his advice to his people. He possessed the dignity of the leader who represents the majesty of the national will, and at the same time he showed the modesty of the citizen placed in high office who knows that he is the servant of his people in their struggle toward liberty. He never lost sight of his great responsibilities to posterity, and in the most critical conflicts he always showed the courage to assume any responsibility no matter how great. He did not permit himself to be swerved from the course which he believed to be right by criticism dictated by prejudice and passion, nor did he allow flattery to modify his course of action.

Directing the destinies of the Republic for a long period, he was ever faithful to the fulfillment of the laws passed by the representa-

tives of the people, and this trait marks the moral standard of his entire life. Bolívar characterized him as "the man of law," a designation which has justly been conferred upon him by posterity. This spirit of loyalty manifests itself not only in his public papers but also throughout his personal and political correspondence. It was this fine trait which led him to perform acts and write pages which, like those of the other great founders of republican institutions, deserve to be perpetuated in marble.

In 1821, while serving as executive head of the Government, he said: "You have achieved your independence through force of arms; liberty will be given to you through your laws." On another occasion, during a period of unhappy conflict, he exclaimed: "I am by conviction a friend of law and I will sustain the law as a citizen; I am commander in chief and it is my duty to sustain the law in that capacity as well; I am the First Magistrate of the Republic, and it is my duty, if necessary, to die, sustaining the constitutional régime."

He unsheathed his sword to defend his people, but on more than one solemn occasion he gave evidence of his unswerving loyalty to that principle of liberty and wisdom which the people of the United States have inscribed to their illustrious martyrs on the memorial amphitheater at Arlington: *When we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen.*

This respect for the law was a great example and penetrated to the very soul of the nation which possesses the honor of counting Santander amongst its illustrious sons. This trait alone would be sufficient to earn for him the gratitude of endless generations of Colombians. The concept of law, inflexible as a shield to liberty and justice, Santander proclaimed during the infancy of the Republic with a firmness that never swerved, and he thus left his impress on the spiritual constitution of his people. On this solid foundation has been built the structure upon which all the sons of Colombia now stand. With each day the seeds sown by him are bearing new fruit. And as these achievements are perpetuated in national red-letter days of conciliation and peace, the countrymen of Santander incline their hearts in reverence before the great figures of the fathers of the Republic, beside whom may be seen, illuminated by the grateful acknowledgment of an entire people, the profiles of those other nameless heroes, those unknown soldiers whose unrecorded sacrifices and whose voluntary immolation have quickened and made fruitful the life of the nation. It was virtues such as theirs which brought into victorious being the spiritual constitution of the nation and stamped it with the seal of a noble unselfishness which looked solely toward the future destiny of the people for whose emancipation they had struggled and endured, to whose liberty they had conse-

crated their lives, counting their own martyrdom not too heavy a price for the future glory of their country.

Mr. Secretary of State, ladies, and gentlemen, the walls of this splendid edifice which were raised in obedience to the highest aspirations and ideals of friendship between the nations of the New World, have been, and will forever be, eloquent witnesses to great initiatives in the interest of international justice and service. Near this spot, within our field of vision are the monuments to Washington and Lincoln, perpetual reminders of the immortal achievements of those choice spirits for the good of mankind. No spot could be more appropriate than this in which to assemble the great and good who have wrought the history of America. So Colombia, with joy and pride, intrusts this bust which perpetuates in marble the serene features of that great patriot who honored his country in the austere virtues of its chief magistracy, who served his people with abnegation and unswerving faithfulness, who uplifted them by his never-failing devotion and integrity. Never were his forces weakened by uncertainty, nor the beat of his stout heart disturbed by despair. In his hours of conflict in the field, as in his hours of thought and meditation, his faith in the future of Colombia never faltered. And when came the hour when that great mind, buffeted by the winds of so many tempests, might at last find eternal repose, still might be found indelibly engraved in his heart those high ideals which were the luminous goal of his life and upon which the fraternity of the American nations must be constructed.

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE CHARLES E. HUGHES,
SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. MINISTER, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: It is a high privilege to be permitted to accept, on behalf of the governing board of the Pan American Union, the bust of your great national hero, Gen. Francisco de Paula Santander, which thus finds a fitting place among the memorials commemorating the most distinguished services and an undying fame. The homage of peoples is paid to these heroes not simply because of gratitude, deep as that may be, but because of the sound instinct which links the hope of the future and the prosperity and greatness of the nation to the preservation of the ideals exemplified in these lives of valor, of sacrifice, and of patriotic devotion. It is in the achievements of these strong men of noble purpose that the nation finds its proudest memories and its happiest inspiration.

The gift of this bust of Santander is especially significant because he embodied in such large measure the qualification upon which the democratic development of the Republics of this continent must rest. He was a great soldier but in his thought arms only prepared the way for the establishment of the institutions of peace. He had preeminently the gift of organization. So remarkable was the display of his constructive power in the difficult days of war, so extraordinary was the success of his efforts in the preparation of armies, that he was called "The organizer of victory." It was Santander who trained in the eastern plains the army with which Bolívar undertook the campaign which was to give independence to five Republics beginning with New Granada. But to Santander victory was not an end in itself; it opened the avenue of opportunity for constitutional government. His greatest service to American constitutional development lies in the fact that we owe to him the civil organization of your great country. By precept and example he impressed upon his fellow citizens the importance of respect for law.

You have referred, Mr. Minister, to his memorable words, "You have won your independence by your arms; you will keep liberty by your laws." This profound sentiment should be inscribed on the portals of all capitols and written in the hearts of all who love their country. Santander did not refer to the mere observance of legal forms but to the fundamental truth that liberty can not live in disorder and anarchy; that it must have its institutions, its principles,

its rules of action expressed in law; and that it is the intelligent support of a government of law which distinguishes the true lovers of liberty.

At a time when the processes of republican government were still in a formative stage, Santander impressed upon his people the importance of forming a government of laws and not of men, and it was through his indefatigable labors that the foundations were laid for those guaranties of personal liberty in the institutions of justice upon which the greatness of your country must inevitably depend. The lesson that he taught is still the lesson that the world needs. It is because he not only thus thought, but because he devoted his life to the establishment of the essential principles of liberty that we give high honor to this name and share your pride in his achievements.

Mr. Minister, in accepting for the Pan American Union this bust of Santander I assure you that the name and fame of your national hero is enshrined in our hearts as of one who was a most eminent exponent of liberty under law.

GENERAL FRANCISCO DE PAULA SANTANDER: AN APPRECIATION.

By Hon. L. S. ROWE,

Director General of the Pan American Union.

IT has been the privilege of the Republics of the American Continent to give to the world a group of statesmen and warriors different from the outstanding figures of European history, both in their intellectual make-up and in their attitude toward public questions.

The exceptional environment in which these leaders developed their activities, the fact that all of them were in close touch with the masses of the people and shared the hardships incident to long years of struggle, gave to their thought and action a democratic trend of popular welfare and popular government.

One of the outstanding figures of this great epoch is Francisco de Paula Santander, who combined to a rare degree the qualities of the statesman, the civil administrator, and the warrior. The study of his life and activities impresses one profoundly with his greatest and, for his time, most unusual characteristic—namely, a deep respect for law, combined with a strong desire and unswerving purpose to assure the orderly development of civil institutions. It is astonishing to find in that early and troublous period a man who saw with clear vision that the progress and prosperity of the nascent democracies of America were dependent on the development in the masses of the people of a profound respect for law, a willingness to submit to the will of the majority, and a readiness to subordinate personal desires and ambitions to public welfare.

For these contributions to national life, not only Colombia but the American Continent owes him a debt of gratitude.

Santander was born in the small town of Rosario de Cúcuta in that most significant year 1792, a year when the thrones of Europe were rudely shaken to their foundations, when ancient overlords and traditional mandates were dissolving in the cleansing fire of the French revolution, and when men, everywhere, were absorbing the sentiments of liberty and justice, and dreaming not only of independence but of self-government.

While Santander was still a mere boy beginning his studies in the College of San Bartolomé, in Bogotá, the Colombian patriot Antonio Nariño had published his notable translation of "The Rights of Man,"

and the imperishable doctrines of that great human document became the daily pabulum not only of young Santander, but of that group of high-spirited young intellectuals who, with him, were to leave their impress on the history of Colombia.

Between 1803, which marks the appointment of the last Spanish viceroy and the breaking out of the revolution in July, 1810, political events in Colombia moved with incredible swiftness toward their predestined goal. In New Granada a group of notables demanded adequate representation in the Cortes; in Bogotá, the municipality clamored not only for representation but for the right to organize the defense of the country; in Casanare two patriots had already paid with their lives an attempt to depose the governor; in Pamplona the Corregidor was actually deposed; and in Socorro blood was shed in a similar effort. And it was at this critical moment in 1809 that Santander, having successfully obtained his degree in jurisprudence, left the university behind him to become, within a scant year, sublieutenant of a handful of patriots in the Province of Mariquita, and to begin that practical study of military tactics and of men which was to be crowned on the field of Boyacá. In 1810, the revolution having assumed definite form, Santander took part in the ill-fated Nariño expedition, in which he was wounded and imprisoned for a short time by the enemy. In Angostura, Lérmapelada, San Faustino, and in scores of smaller engagements in the Cúcuta valleys, Santander, now colonel, added new luster to the patriots' cause.

In 1815 Santander was appointed commander in chief of the remains of that army which Bolívar had led to the heroic city of Cartagena. Early in 1816, Santander began the almost superhuman task of raising and disciplining on the broad plains of Casanare an army which would enable Bolívar to crush once and for all the power of Spain in Colombia. It was a task for a superman, for a heroic and dauntless spirit such as Santander's—a task which was prolonged through three long years of almost inconceivable suffering and sacrifice, but which was gloriously crowned not only on the field of Boyacá, but also at Ayacucho and Junín.

Santander, however, was not only a great military genius, but a great civilian whose ability in establishing law and order had been amply demonstrated during his consummately able administration as vice president of the new Republic from 1821 to 1826. Elected in 1837 to the National Congress, to which he was reelected in 1839, Santander's voice and eloquence were consistently heard in the parliamentary tribune on the side of law and order. Indeed, it may be said of him that practically his entire adult life was spent either in the field or in the tribune, for it was in the latter that he became

conscious of the first symptoms of the mortal disease which, while still in his prime, carried him to the grave on May 5, 1840, plunging the entire nation into the deepest grief and mourning.

As this illustrious patriot takes his place in the Hall of Heroes of the Pan American Union, we can but repeat the moving words of his funeral eulogy:

Rest, illustrious Granadino, general and citizen, rest! Thy life was as the swift lightning; not so thy fame, which shall endure down the ages and teach generations to come of the dauntless soldier, the wise governor, the profound statesman, the great man of New Granada, which was Santander.





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